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[NEWS PAPER ARTICLES]
EXTRACTS FROM THE
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Newspaper Articles

Extracts from the "Mail"

for the 1910

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NEWSPAPER ARTICLES RETAINED FILE NO 3

Extracts from the "Mail"

From 1910 To 1914; 1920 to 1924

MADRAS MAIL,

13th January, 1910.

The Aga Khan on Sedition.

The speech delivered by H.H. the Aga Khan in Bombay on Tuesday, is an altogether characteristic utterance in the breadth of the views taken, the moderation with which they are stated and the earnestness with which the responsibilities of Indians in the era opened by the reforms are emphasised. In thanking his audience for recognition as the leader of his community, His Highness exhibited a consciousness of the obligations as well as the privileges of his position which is none too common. He is not one of those who hastily plan out short cuts to remote political goals. As he sees, "it is difficult for any Indian patriot to lay his line clearly, but it is more so for a Mohomedan leader, owing to a combination of superficially and apparently conflicting ideas and interests. The community of which he is the leader has its special interests, and for them he has striken vigorously and with success. But, as he is well aware, the welfare of the Mahomedans is not independent of that of other communities. To co-ordinate all these inter interests, to be in fact both the leader of his community and an Indian statesman, is no easy matter. We know how publicists of a certain type settle similar difficultie But H.H. the Aga Khan judiciously refrains from attempting to find at once any formula which will include all the intersts he has to serve. He deprecates haste and impatience, and points to certain questions on which decision does not remain to be made as those which primarly occupy his co-religionists. Whatever the future may hold, it is clear that the Mohomedan community cannot progress until more attention is paid to education. So this, therefore, his coreligionists to devote special efforts. Thus it is evident that the maintenance of good relations with the Hindu community is essential for the prosperity of both Moslems and Hindus. Finally, in his own words, "it is impos-

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"it is impossible that the country should develop if we live in a state of endemic anarchy that destroys confidence between the rulers and the ruled and eventually recoils on society of large".

It is on these three objects that he urges his coreligionists to fix their gaze. But it is not his want to hold up ideals merely for contemplation, and he has very practical advice to offer in regard to all of them. Especially welcome in his plain language on the subject of political crime. There have recently been meetings in Bombay at which authorities have pronounced a considered opinion to the effect that the sacred scriptures of the Hindus do not sanction political assassination. We condially appreciate the motives of those who, there and in other parts of India, have expressed such opinions, but we may be pardoned if some amusement is excited by the spectacle of pundits gravely announcing the discovery that a high moral code does not approve murder even for political ends. The announcement could be news only to those who will not be deterred by it from their atrocious perversion of religion. It is not the discovery that all ethical codes known to civilised peoples reprobate murder and defiance of constituted authority that is needed, nor yet the ferment denunciations of particular out-rages which have been so frequently heard from platforms. As H.H. the Aga Khan said, it is necessary to go deeper and think out a policy to prevent the state of mind that produce assassins. Every community that is jealous of its good name ought to organise means of preventing its younger members from being infected with sedition. It is of little use to repudiate as disgrace to the community those who have committed such crimes. What must be done is that every young man who engages in seditious activities of however mild a character must be made to feel the weight

of social disapproval. It is ~~tidy~~ timely censure and influence, not belated denunciation, that is required. Self interest dictates cooperation with the government in preventing political crime as much as a sense of duty does, for if the people cannot arrest the spread of sedition the Government must take measures, such as the extension of the seditious Meetings Act announced today, which inconvenience the innocent.

NO:I C 4 B I

MADRAS MAIL.

EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPER "MADRAS MAIL" FROM 1910.

HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

26th January, 1910.

The Viceroy on Sedition.

When the correspondence between His Excellency the Viceroy and certain of the Ruling Chiefs was published it was generally felt that this consultation as to the most effications methods of dealing with sedition and terrorism was preliminary to further and stronger action on the part of the Government of India. The speech delivered by the Viceroy on the opening of the Imperial Legislative Council yesterday confirms the belief that more stringent measures are to be taken, though it gives no indication of the form they will take. The first meeting of the expanded and reformed council was an appropriate occasion for a review of the progress achieved during the last seventy (70) years, from the 'regime' of Lord William Buntinck and the Charter Act of 1833 to the council Acts of 1861 and 1892, and thence to the Act of 1909. Here the Viceroy found it necessary to enter an emphatic contradictions of the suggestion that the Reforms were concessions to unlawful ~~Reformsxwerex~~ agitation. We doubt if any one seriously holds that they were, though it is convenient for sedition mongers to pretend that their activity wrung concessions from the Government. ~~Thisxxixmeyxx~~ It is true, as the Viceroy frankly admitted, that he put forward his original suggestions because he was convinced of the existence of a ~~xxxxx~~ great deal of smothered discontent, much of it in his opinion justifiable in the country. But if every class and section of the Indian peoples had been contend with the status quo the Reform scheme would have been only an example of change for change's sake. To discern the existence of more or less legitimate discontent and set about allaying it is a very

different thing from pardening to sedition. Moreover, as H.E.Showed, he took the initiative long before the unrest had found expression in the first Archist outrages.

What the Reforms were thought likely to accomplish was the conciliation of the Moderates, so far as therewere estranged from the Government by discontent with the share in the administration formerly allotted them. Without forgetting the expressions of approval which greeted the scheme on its publication, it must be said that expectations have been to a considerable extent disappointed. No doubt a large proportion of the class that takes an interest in Public affairs is content, and certain interests hitherto inadequately represented are condially grateful. But it is impossible to ignore the persistent and severe criticism to which the Regulations giving effect to the reforms have been subjected in the Indian Press and at the Lahore Session of the Congress. That section of the Indian public which arrogates to itself exclusively the tittle of "the educated class" has made it clear that it is smarting under a sense of injustice. The grievances is unreals but so long as the class in question is moved by Mr.Surrendranath Banergees argument that the political privileges of classes should be proportionate to their efforts' to bring about change, dissatisfaction will continue. However even those who are inclined to stand aloof from the reformed councils and to ignore the opportunities offered there are for the most part being compelled by events to co-operate with the Government in dealing with the common danger. When the lines of Indians as well as Europeans are endangered by train outrages and when in Calcutta for the second time an Indan Police officer is done to death by an Anarchist, differences as to administrative methods and constitutional changes are seen

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in their true prospective in view of dangers that threaten to arrest all progress and to neassitate, the restriction of liberty that too often degenerates into license. From those who have taken their new privileges of their paper value and in the right spirit the Viceroy confidently expects support whatever measures may be necessary against sedition, and there is no reason to fear that he will be disappointed. But much more is wanted than mere acqures-sence in the acts of the Government, and it is doubtful whether the Indian Public will yet awake to the necessity of discountenancing those seditions activities which lead up to political assasination. For the crime there is almost universed abhorence, for the process of manufacturing the criminal, so long as it is conducted with some discretion, only an apathetic disapproval. Indians of almost every class agree that the symptoms should be rooted out, but ~~the~~ to attack the cause seems to many spokesman of the educated classes to involve the gravest dangers ~~xxxxx~~ to their liberty.

It is not so that the Indian Princes whose correspondence with the Viceroy has been published view the matter. Nothing is more striking in the suggestions they offer than the stress laid upon the desirability of further control of the Press. In his speech yesterday the Viceroy said:--"We can no longer tolerate the preaching of a revolutionary Press. We are determined to bridle literary license "what increases are foreshadowed by these words we do not know but what ever they may be there is no need to apprehand any interference with journals conducted with honest intentions and by reputable methods. It may, of course be questioned whether further legislation is necessary. The Government already have the ordinary law dealing with sedition and the incitement to offences Act, and on the face it these may seen sufficient if vigorously used. But no one who habitually

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studies the Indian Press can deny that a considerable number of journals manage to do a great deal of mischief without rendering themselves liable to conviction under either of these laws. The grozzer license of the Press can generally be cuned, after some damage has been done. But it is quite possible for a paper to continue for years publishing distorted information and articles which, without being obviously seditious or plainly inciting to murder, weaken in the minds of readers all respect for authority by suggesting improper motives for every act of the Government. Even in the case of papers which bring themselves within the reach of the law, it is often only a scapegoat who suffers while the real force behind the journal proceeds to find another market. Prints which can be carried on with very little capital and with staff recruited from the failure of the Universities may be suppressed without much real effect on the volume of seditious literature poured forth, so long as those who inspire and finance them are not prevented from fresh ventures.

These considerations suggest that if fresh legislation is to be introduced it should provide for some sort of licensing system. We see no reason why the system should be applied to jouranls with good records, such as some of the more influential Indian papers in this Presidency. It might easily be provided that a bond should be required only of those journals which have been warned for seditious writings. It might also be desirable to insist on a bond from any journal employing a person who has at any previous time been convincted of sedition, or to make a severe provision prohibiting the registration of any paper which is owned or conducted by a person so convicted. The exemption of journal with good records seems essential, not because measures directed against sedition could possibly effect them detrimentally so long as they maintained their

~~favourable~~ honourable traditions, but in order to allay those unfounded apprehensions which any mention of a Press Law seems to excite in Indian journals with a clear conscience. It would be far better to add nothing to the Statute Book, and to utilise more vigorously the ordinary Law and the special legislation of the last two years, on, as a last resort, the Regulation of 1818.

THE MADRAS MAIL,

4th February, 1910.

The New Press Bill.

We publish today in our telegram the provision of the Press Bill, which we hope will be the last word in legislation in India does not, however, inspire much confidence. As we pointed out at the time when the Newspaper (Incitement to offences) Bill was introduced, there has been an astonishing talk of continuity of policy in dealing with the Press in this country. When Macaulay whose predictions in regard to India always seemed so reasonable at the time and ~~how~~ have all been falsified by events, was ~~during~~ writing his Minute on the Press Act he had drafted, he reassured those who foresaw danger in the unrestricted liberty of the Press by pointing out that the possible ~~alure~~ abuse of privileges could be very easily arrested in India, since "five persons who may be brought together in half an hour, whose deliberations are secret, who are not shackled by any of those forms which elsewhere delay legislative measures, can, in a single sitting make a law for stopping every press in India". The facilities of which he spoke have decreased, but the process of legislation has certainly been rapid enough. Lord Canning's Press Law, Lord Lythan's and the Newspaper (Incitement to offences) Bill were all passed at a single sitting, and though the Bill introduced today is to be discussed for a few days, there will be no dangerous delay between its introduction and its enactment. But there have been long delays between the appearance of the danger to be crushed and the inception of measures against it.

There has in the past been much blindness, real or assumed on the part of the government of India to plain indications of coming trouble and the utmost reluctance to take action even when the existence of danger was admitted. So long ago as 1835, when the Press was set free, Princep

warned his colleaagues on the Viceroy's council of the remote Consequences. "At present this Press" he said, "is nothing, and the controlling on influencing of it would be an easy task; but if we let it grow till the danger is imminent, we may then find it against to wrestle with" But it is precisely the policy be deprecated which has been followed. There was freedom until the meance became too serious; then came Lord Canning's Press Act, dealing equally with the Indian and Anglo Indian Press, the latter being in a different way gravely at fault at the time; then, three years after the Mutiny, when the revision, of the Penal Code was under consideration, the most drastic provision.against sedition was excised. Twenty years later came a warning from Lord North-brook; then Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, then the repeal of that statutary measure on the extroordinary ground that because it had never been used it ought to be repealed. The seidtious Press developed freely again and then, with the new era of bombs and political conspiracies, came the Act of 1908.

No sort of principle can be discerned running through all this mass of legislation. The seditious Press has been freed, checked, condemned, reprieved in turn. Three of the measures passed were effective, Lord Canning's Act Lord Lytton's and, to some extent, the Act of 1908. But the operation of the first was limited to a year; the second dealt only with the vernacular papers and was repealed by Lord Lytton's successor? the last was directed against only the most atrocious forms of sedition. It is time, and much more than time, that a comprehensive and final measure were passed. An extreme measure would be futile as well as appressive, what, in our view, seems necessary we explained in reviewing the correspondence between. H.E. the Viceroy and the Native Chiefs in our issue of the 2nd January. He

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We pointed out then the efficacy and responsible-ness of a system whereby security would be taken from journals, and we are glad to find that this is the basis of the new legislation. We remarked at the time that it would be undesirable to apply the system to paper with good records, and it is satisfactory to learn that these will be exempted, no security being taken except from journels and presses which have already offended. The judicious exemption should not only allay apprehension on the part of paper conducted reputably, but serve to distinguish that section of the Indian Press which is public services from that section which serves only the enemies of the common weal. There will be occasion subsequently for criticism of details. For the present we wish only to welcome the new Bill as embodying a sound principle.

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THE MADRAS MAIL,

9th February, 1910.

<u>THE PRESS BILL.</u>

The Press Bill, as will be seen from our telegrams today, has been passed, after a debate of great interest, with but few amendments. It has excited strong oppositions in many quarters, but we think it will be admitted by those who are most convinced of the need for such a measure that the opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council has been tempered by a moderation highly creditable to most of the Non-official Indian Members. Of obstruction there has been nothing, of unmeasured criticism very little. Messrs Gokhale and Dadabhoy, to mention only two Members who supported the Bill while disapproving of many of its provisions have shown that they realise the gravity of the situation and the difficulty of the position of Government, and are prepared to subordinate their objections to parts of the measure to their sense of the need for an effectual check on the agencies which are corrupting the public kind. Mr.Gokhale introduced an amendment, foreshowed in his note of dissent, to exempt new enterprises from giving security unless, in the opinion of the Magistrate, there was likelihood of their offending against the Act. There is something to be said for such an exemption, provided that the demand for security he left wholly within the Magistrates, discretion and appeal be debarred. As we pointed out yesterday, it will be unreasonable under such a system to ask the Magistrates to produce reasons for his action for the security of a tribunal without personal knowledge of the conductors of the paper of press in question. Mr.Gokhale apparently would not object to that, for he does not share all of Mr.Madan Mohan Malaviya's enthusiasm for ordinary legal procedure with large opportunities for appeal. But it would be further necessary to guard against evasion of the new Act by means of New registrations, which would be new only in name. Such

Such a safeguard would be hard to devise, except in the cast of enterprises avoidably promoted or conducted by those who have already been convicted of sedition. On the whole, therefore, it seems that the benefits securable by Mr.Gokhale's amendment would be out weighed by its disadvantages. The proposal was, however, not, on the face of it, inconsistent with the principle of the Bill.

So much can not be said for Mr.Madan Mohan Malaviya's suggestions. That gentleman, with all ability seems unable to understand that an amendment which would eliminate Executive action from the Bill is not an amendment but a complete revolution. His proposals, necessarily, never had a chance of being accepted, for they cut at the first principles of the measure. The limitation of the Act was recommended by several Members. Mr.Malaviya, in his Note of Dissent, argued that not only should it be limited in time of three years, as Messrs Gokhale and Muddokkar suggested, but that it should also apply only to certain parts of India.

It requires but a moments reflection to see that the aim of the Bill would be defeated if, lay the exemption of certain areas, an asylum were provided for Sedition mongers. If any part of India were exempted, it would be, naturally, those areas which have hitherto been little disturbed. Mr.Madan Mohan Malaviya's proposal, therefore, aims unintentionally, of this viz., the conversion of those parts of India which know little of the sedition-monger into hot beds of sedition. There is, of course, more to be said for a time limit for the Act. It is avowedly exceptional legislation to meet an exceptional situation, and we should be sorry to think that its application will be necessary for an indefinite period. But it is impossible at this time to fix a limit. Who can undertake to say that within three years the need for such a check as the new Bill provides will have

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disappeared?

H.E. the Viceroy, in concluding the debate, announced the release of the nine persons deported under the regulation of 1818. We will not attempt to pronounce on the wisdom of releasing them. The part they played in the moment of the which His Excellency spoke is fully known only to the Government. But it seems the part of prudent statesmanships to await the effects of setting them at liberty before decreeing a limit to the press Bill. The Viceroy assured his council that the political movement with which the deported persons were associated, seditious as it was, "can no longer be held to include the anarchist conspiracy which menaces India now. We can only trust that his Excellency's confidence is well founded. But, however, that may be, there is justification for his claim that the nature of the opposition the new Bill has met with shows that the representatives of the people in his council are prepared to sink their differences in order to strengthen the hands of the Government against anarchy.

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THE MADRAS MAIL,

23rd February, 1910.

The Indian Emigrants for Natal.

"We have informed the Netal Government at any time such measures in regard to emigration to that colony as we may think necessary in order to secure proper treatment for our Indian Settlers, and we have recently again declined to take only step towards facilitating the emigration of labours under indenture until the Natal anthorities substantially modify their attitude" This is not an anticipatory forecast of the Viceroy's utterances on this important subject on Friday next, but is an excerpt from Lord Curzon's last Budget speech delivered five years ago, when, in replying to some criticisms by the Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale on the subject of the admission of Indians to the Public Services, he took the opportunity of stating in these definite terms the policy of his Government towards the Natal labour question. It was announced a few days ago that the eloquent Bombay Member will move a Resolution on the subject at Tomorrow's Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, which so far as its terms have been disclosed, will be practically a restatement of the decision of the Viceroy with whom he has so often crossed rewards in debate, coupled with an indication to the present Government to apply it for the alliviation of a situation which has become much more acute since Lord Curzon's pronouncement was made. It does not appear that Lord Curzon had a chance of translating these threats into concrete orders discouraging the emigration of indentured Labour to Natal, as eight months after they were formulated he had resigned. But had he been at the head of Indian affairs when the drastic legislation of Natal dispossessed resident Indians of their rights of citizenship, and placed arbitrary restrictions on their freedom to engage in commercial pursuits or to hold property, there is no doubt that this attitude would have been met by the reprisals which Mr.Gokhale

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hopes to persuade Lord Minto's Government to adopt. And whatever may be the result of Fridays debate we shall probably be informed why the policy so clearly and definitely stated by our ex-Viceroy was not remembered when the Psycological moment for its application had arrived some three years ago.

The 'garden colony' of the South African Union has had its labour requirements supplied by India for a great many years, and its present prosperity is largely due to the efficiency of Indians as work people and the avoidance, until recent times, of any friction between them and the white population. When Lord Curzon outlined the situation to his Council, Indians ~~enjoyed for~~ engage on five years indentures were emigrating to the Colony at the rate of five or sixth thousands (6,000) a year, and although there has probably been some diminiction in these figures they still go thither in large members, and will continue to do so until their final exclusion at the date fixed by the local Legislature. The principal difficulties have arisen with regard to the status and prusuits of the class euphemistically termed "Free Indians", who on the termination of their labour contracts have elected to remain in the Colony and to engage in commercial pursuits, occupations in which they have been particularly successful as evidented by the wealth some of them have accumalated and by the fact that many of the best places of business in Durban and elsewhere are owned by them. According to the last Census they numbered about 50,000 and there are as many more coloured people in the colony classed as "Asiatics," who are as keen competitions as the Indians in trade or any other professions in which they can make a livelihood.

Until the closing years of last century there was no disposition on the part of the Natalians to interfere

with the existing arrangements, under which the Indian settlers were admitted to the full rights of citizenship, and were even encouraged to remain in the land of their adoption. But as a consequence of the agitation started against them by the white colonists a dozen years ago, a senes of restrictive Regulations were passed by the Local Legislature, which have replaced the older conditions of concord by an era of persecution and animosity we need not recapitulate the state of affairs now existing in Natal and the Transval, but it appears from Lord Curzon's last Budget speech that certain officials were sent to Calcutta from Natal seven years ago, with proposals for the compulsary return of Indians to their homes on the completion of their indenture. But as Lord Curzon demanded various counter concessions which were not acceptable, no arrangement was reached, and it was after the failure of these negotiations that he made the statement of policy quoted at the convincemant of this article. It also appears that about the same time time the Indian government were asked to agree to a scheme for the employment of 10,000 Indian labourers on the construction of railways in the Transval and Orange River colonies, and that, recognising this proposition as a useful means of obtaining more humane treatment for Indians throughout South Africa, the Viceroy was prepared to accept it on the conditions stated in his speech, Those, however, were rejected and the scheme was abandoned. Three weeks ago, Mr. Smutts, the Colonial Secretary of the Transval Government, announced that he was proposing a compromise which could be satisfactory to all concerned, but however this may be, Mr. Gokhale's of the situation so far as Natal is concerned, for there seems to be no cogent reason against the application to the colony of Lord Curzon's policy of reprisal.

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4 2. Resolution may aid in accelerating a settlement of the

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MADRAS MAIL,

5th March, 1910.

THE MADRAS COUNCIL.

The appointment of the Maharajah of Bobbili to the Madras Executive Council is ~~emobbicially~~ unofficially announced today, and we believe that it will be ~~apeed~~ agreed in most quarters that the choice is justitious. He took exception at the xxxx time when the Reforms proposals were tunder discussion to the proposal to admit nonofficials to the Executive Council, and we cannot but regard their presence in an expert body as some what anomelous. But the question of has been settled, and all that concerns us now is that the places which may be so filled should be allotted to public men of the best stamp. The Maharajah of Bobbili has many quantifi-cations. He comes of an old family, and is a prominent represxentatitve of the landed aristocracy of Southern India. He has administered a large estate with prudence and regard for the interests of his tenantry, and he has always displayed an intelligent interest in public affairs. As Vice President of the Landholders association he has been of service to his class, while as Member of the Legislative Council from 1896 to 1904 he did useful work in a wider sphere. Enlightened in his views, he has sufficient conservative bias to make him sceptical of the value of hasty innovation and his loyalty has expressed itself not only in some opportune speeches and writings but in efforts to promote the Imperial League, of which he was recently elected the first President, We do not know yet what porfolio he will hold in the executive council, but whatever his duties may be, he will, we feel sure, approach them in the right spirit. It would be idle to pretend that he possesses the special knowledge of the official Members. In the nature of things it cannot be so. On the other hand, it may be to the benefit of the Government to have a colleague with fresh mens. The Maharajah of Bobbili at any rate is no doctrinaire

like all landholders he had had to deal with some of the main problems in Indian affairs on a small scale. His opinions are based on study of actual conditions and not merely on enthusiasm for abstract principles. His appointment is in many ways a notable experiment. When ~~the~~ Mr Sinha was appointed to the Vicerly's Executive Council, he was a lawyer of distinction accepting a position whose duties lay well within his own province of knowledge. In the case of the Maharajah of Bobbili the conditions are different, and the working of this experiment will be watched with special interest. We trust that it will prove a success.

MADRAS MAIL,

9th March, 1910.

THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The Madras Provincial Conference opened at Kurnool today., The Presidential address delivered by Mr.P.R. Sundara Iyer is among the most reasonable in criticism and temperate in expression given at the Provincial Conferences, and contains some sound doctrine. Beginning with a tribute to the late King Emperor, he proceeded to review the situatinn in which his successor has come to the throne, and he was thus led to speak of the unrest in the country and of the measures taken to check sedition. His frank and unqualified acknowledgement of the necessity for repressive measures is noteworthy, though by no means singular, for there can be few moderate Indian publicists who do not realise the imparative need for the suppression of sedition, however much they may question the particular methods chosen by the Government. Mr.Sundera Iyer does not allow those methods to pass unchallenged. In the first place he protests against the inexpediency of "permanent legislative enactments to suppress temporary violence. "This is a criticism which we have heard very ~~xxxxxx~~ often during the last two years, but we cannot see much point in it, for if the measures are permanent, they are not continually applied. Thus the seditions Meetings Act gives power to declare any disturbed area to be under the operation of the Act for such time as is judged necessary, but the act is not everywhere and always in force, true there is always the possibility of the Act being applied, but then there is always the possibility of recrudescence of unrest. We can see no handship in the measure being permanent. On the contrary, it seems to us decidedly advantageous that such weapons as that Act should be kept in reserve, both because they can be more promptly used if need arises and because their existence obviates the dangers of hasty improvisation of measures in a crisis.

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Again, the knowledge that such weapons are ready to the band of the Government is an effective deterrent to the sedition monger. There is little force also in Mr.Sundera Iyer's second criticism, that there is no differentiation between disturbed and tranquil areas, for in the application of the seditious Meetings Act there is such differnetiations. The Newspaper (Incitement to offences) Act, it must be admitted, does not apply to specified areas only, but then it is directed against the crimes which Mr.Sundara Iyer he denounces so thoroughly, and incitement to outrage, he would agree, is equally intolerable in all parts of the country. Possibly he had in mind the more recent Press Act, in regard to which it was suggested by an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council that its application should be limitted to certain Provinces. But the aim of all legislation against sedition is notxx merely to furnish crime in disturbed areas, but to preserve the tranquility of those which have ~~litterate~~ hitherto not been troubled by the sedition monger. To exempt a Province from the operation of these two Acts would be to turn a part of the country fortunately free from sedition into the base of operation of disloyal agencies. However, there is, generally room for difference as to methods, and inability to accept Mr.Sundara Iyer's criticism does not preclude appreciation of his ~~mainxspoken~~ plain spoken admission of the need for chekking disorder and mischieveous propaganda.

A particularly interesting passage in his address is that which in which Mr.Sundara Iyer discussed the effect of caste and religious differences on "national" life, quoting Lord Acton in support of the view that such differences tend to the benefit rather than the detriment of the State and society. There seems to be some inconsistency between this portion of his address and that in which he commented severely on the recognistion given to the people under the Reform ssheme. It is very difficult, apparently, for

for the publicists associated with the Indian National Congress to grasp the fact that the artificial unity produced by ignoring real differences cannot be nearly so effective as any genuine agreement on public questions between Hindus and Mohommadans. So long as it is possible to explain away unanimity of Indian non-officials in the Legislative Council by declaring the Mohomedan "Representatives" xxx to be Hindu nominees, their unanimity can count for little. When such explanations are impossible, in consequence of separate representation, any combination of the representatives of the two great communities must be very powerful. There are many other points in Mr.Sundara Iyer's address that ought to be noticed, but we can draw attention only to his recommendation to Indian politicians are publicists to realise that the day of ill informed criticism and ill considered demands in past, and that they must address themselves more earnestly and with a fuller sense of responsibility to the practical work before them.

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MADRAS MAIL,

25th April, 1910.

THE PRESS ACT MISPLACED.

We are at a loss to understand the principle on which the Press act is applied by certain Magistrates in Western India. Although it was expressly stated in the preamble of the Bill and in Sir Herbert Risely's speech in introducing it, that security would not be demanded from existing newspapers and presses, unless and until they offended against the Act, there have been several cases in which Magistrates have required security from unoffending papers and presses. The Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale was recently addressed on the subject, and, in replaying, he quoted passages from Sir Herbart Risley's speech and from the preamble to the Bill, showing clearly that it was not the intention of the Government to bring existing journals and presses under the Security Clauses of the Act unless they published matter of the kind prohibited, therein. As we remarked in commenting on the Gokhale's letter, there is absolutely no room for doubt on the point. But the Act continues to be applied in Western India in a manner contrary to the declared intentions of the Government. It appears that the latest victim of the misunderstanding is the ~~said~~ Sind Gazette an old established journal under European control, which, so far as we are aware, has never been suspected of any objectionable tendencies. It is not shown that the ~~Said~~ Sind Gazette has now been guilty of anything that would justify the demand by the collection of Karachi, and in the absence of any special reason for this action we join with the Pioneer' in protesting against procedure which must seriously damage the Press in India if it becomes general No.Doubt, the journal in question can ~~esiey~~ easily spare the security demanded, Rs.1,000. That is not the point. What matters is the frequent misapplication of the Act, from the operation of which existing journals are clearly exempted until they offered.

The effect of a demand for a security on the prestige of a journal must be damaging, for the inference is that such a journal must have been guilty of publishing seditious matter. Not only is the stading of a paper thus reduced, but all its subsequent utterances are discounted, for the moderation of its criticisms then becomes attributable to fear of penalities, instead of being ascribed to the temperance of its judgment. The 'Pioneer' takes exception to the invidiousness of selecting an unoffending paper out of many others for the rigorous treatment meted out to the Sind Gazette'. As between journals in one Province and those in others, there is certainly invidiousness, for the new interpretation of the Press Act is peculiar to Western India. But in Karachi itself there is a fine impartiality in the demand for security, two Indian journals, the 'Phoemix' and the 'Argus' having been mulcted at the same time as the 'Sind Gazette'. The method employed is impossible. Whenever the printer or place of publication is changed, a new declaration has to be made. Here is the Magistrate's opportunity to demand security. We trust the Bombay Government will speedily clear up Magisterial misunderstandings of this kind and that other governments will take measures to prevent similar mistakes.

MADRAS MAIL,

3rd June, 1910.

THE PRESS ACT.

The Bombay Government have issued a resolution regarding the taking of security under the Press Act which will clear up the misunderstandings on which we converted recently. Magistrates in the Bombay Presidency are informed that security should ordinarily be dispersed with when a fresh declaration has to be made in respect of an already existing newspaper or Press if it has been well conducted in the past. "This resolution is issued after correspondence with the Government of India and it authoritatively corrects the error by which, in spite of the plain exemption in the preamble of the Act of existing papers and presses from the operation of the security clauses until they offered, Magistrates in Bombay and Karachi have demanded security from existing journals of good repute. Those papers which, like the 'Pioneer' and ourselves, took up the case of the Sind Gazette" have apparently been lavishing sympathy which is not asked for by the sufferer, for it seems from a passage in the Sind Gazette's comments on its own case that that journal holds the view that all papers should have been brought under the security clauses when the Act was framed, and consequently has no grievance. But the opinions of one paper mulcted of security under a misapplication of the Act do not settle the matter. The Sind Gazette may not mind furnishing security, but other papers do, and even if they did not, the same law cannot be allowed to be used in a manner contrary to the expressed intentions of the Legislature. The Resolution of the Bombay Government is, therefore, welcome.

It must not, however, be supposed that existing papers and presses are exempted by the Resolution without exception. The Bombay Government lay down, very properly, the rule that Magistrates must consider each

case on its merits, with due regard to the character, standing and antecedants of the persons in whose name the new declaration is made. Where the printer of a paper is simply a salaried servant of the proprietors it would be absurd to make a change of printers sufficient reason for taking security. In such a case there is very reason to believe that the conduct of the paper in question will be unaffected by the change. Again, when the proprietor is the heir of the previous owner it may ordinarily be concluded that no change in the traditions of the paper is likely. But, on the other hand, it is easy to ~~inogire~~ imagine cases where it would not be right to assume that the ~~charge~~ change is 'bonafide' and other cases where, although genuine, it would be likely to be accompanied by deterioration is the conduct of the paper such as would make it liable to the penalties laid down for sedition. To take an example of the first kind, we may suppose that the real direction of the policy of a paper puts forward, as has so often been done in this country, a nonentity whose business it will be to suffer for the sins of his supporters. As an example of the second kind, we may suppose that a journalist hitherto conducted by a man of good repute is sold to a journalist whose previous career has brought in with in reach of the ~~seditionsx~~ seditious section of the Indian Penal Code. In such cases, if no security were taken the real object of the Press act would be depleted.

It must be admitted, however, that the preamble of the Act and Sir Herbert Risley's statement in council exempted all existing papers and presses until they actually offended, where as the Bombay Government Resolution exempts them unless there is reason to believe they will ~~offered.~~ offend. On principle it may be objected that the application of the Act should not be altered in the least by Executive order.

But, at the same time, as we have shown, there is justification for the Bombay Government's view that is deciding whether security should on should not be taken, while the past ~~second~~ record of a paper or press should be submitted as evidence of the way in which it is likely to be conducted in the future, "the true criterion is the use to which it is likely to be put in the future". In the circumstances it seems to us that the wisest course would be to amend the Act in such a way as, first, to remove all possibility of the mistakes made by the collecter of Karachi and other Magistrate in the Bombay Presidency, and secondly, to provide that if there is likelihood of a paper offending, security may be demanded on a fresh declaration in the same way as if it had actually offended. As we said in a previous article, we are reluctant to recommend the reopening of the controversy that was carried on during the discussion of the Bill. But, considering all things, it does now seem advisable that opportunity should be taken to ~~anard~~ amend the act so as to remove a misunderstanding without weakening the Act on the one hand, or, on the other, making a discrepancy between its provisions and the interpretation given by the Bombay Government.

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MADRAS MAIL,

14th June, 1910.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND SEDITION.

Before leaving Calcutta for Simla the Government of India addressed a circular on the subject of the duties of Government servants in regard to sedition to the Provincial Governments. The Madras Government have not yet published this circular, but it has been issued. With some comments, by the Bengal Government. We do not wish to be continually criticising the Government for belated action, but it is impossible not to feel that the circular ought to have been issued at least three years ago, when the campaign of sedition was being most energetically prosecuted. However, though belated it is welcome. As the Government of India observe, circumstances of the time require that every officer of Government should do his best, each in his own sphere, to combat misrepresentation and to remove misapprehension regarding the character and results of British rule". It is absurd to leave the task of fighting sedition to the Police and Magistracy alone, for this reason, amongst others, that they deal with the results of seditions activity rather than with the processes which turn disaffected critics or enemies of the Government. The Police and Magistracy may indeed detect and suppress the agencies by which sedition is disseminated, but it is not usually the reading of a few inflammatory articles or the hearing of a few violent speeches which turns naturally law-abiding and loyal persons into rebels against the British Raj. These things would hardly be heeded if their readers and hearers had not been predisposed to believe them by constant mis-representation of the methods and aims of the Government, and with such mis-representation the Law cannot, and for the most part ought not, to deal. Many, though by no means all, who encourage the absurd and harmful fallacies of the drain of wealth from India to great Britain and of the failure of the Government to employ Indians sufficiently in the administration of the country are

honestly convinced of the truth of the assertions they make on the strength of a second hand acquaintance with third rate economists. No one can wish that the law should take cognisance of these things unless they are evidently inspired by malice and used as part of incitements to disloyalty. But mis-representation of this kind must nevertheless be fought vigorously in the interests alike of the British Raj and the Indian peoples.

It has frequently been urged that there should be established a government Press Bureau to correct this mischief. We do not say that such an institution would not do good, but the task is really far beyond a press Bureau. The much wiser plan is that now adopted, whereby all Government servants are required to correct mis-representation, to expose seditious movements and to use all their influence against political boycott. Stress is rightly laid on the opportunities and obligations of Government servants engaged in educational work, for it is they who are most in contact with the classes specially exposed to seditions influences. The Bengal Government in their remarks on the Government of India's circular recommend all officers to acquaint themselves with the views of Indian owned journals, both English and vernacular, and to take every opportunity of correcting the misrepresentations they may notice. No doubt this is putting an additional burden on busy officials, but even those who have scant leisure for the study of such periodicals and the discussion of their contents can do much lay constant iteration of a few elementary facts. It is not necessary to make a deep study of the financial relations between Great Britain and India as set forth in the Blue Book of the commission on the subject in order to refute the preposterous theory of the drain of wealth. It is sufficient to point out that if interest on British capital invested in a country

~~be a drain of wealth.~~ It ~~is sufficient to point out that if interest on British capital invested~~ in a

xxxx be a drain. Australia is much more severely "bled" by Great Britain that India is. To take another instance, it does not require elaborate research and calculation to prove that the Complaints that Indians are not freely employed in h the Administration are affended. It need only be pointed that in the Presidency, for example, about 80 per cent of the appointments carrying a salary of Rs.600 a month and over are held by Indians, and that here, as elsewhere in India, the proportion of Indians to Europeans in the service and the State has ~~ruin~~ risen more rapidly in the higher grades than in the lower. The average official will be on safer ground if he ~~countries~~ confines himself to the refutation of errors by the citation of definite and indusputable facts instead of entering into desultory controversies. It can not be the intention of the Government that the camps of touring officials should be turned into debating societies with the alleged iniquities of the British 'Raj' as a permanent topic. We confess to some anxiety, which may be dissipated. When we have the full text of the circular, as the direction that officials should keep in personal touch with seditious persons. It is one thing to set about correcting the presumably honest errors of the thought less and ~~xinformedx~~ illinformed, and quite another to establish personal relations with the disaffected. The results of this apparently risky experiment may in the case of some Indian officials surprise and disappoint the government.

MADRAS MAIL,

8th July, 1910.

INDIANS IN CROWN COLONIES.

The General recommendations of the committee on Emigration from India, which was appointed in March 1909. Lord Sandhurst as President, have been known for sometime, but the text of its Report is only now to hand. The committee was required to report on, first, the general question of emigration from India to the Crown Colonies, secondly, the colonies to which Indian Emigration might be most usefully encouraged and, thirdly, the advantages to be derived in each case by India and the Colony in question. So this inquiry the committee has addressed itslef with much earnestness. It held 71 sittings last year, and besides examining 83 witnesses studied an immense amount of literature, official and other, on the subject. The result of all these labours is in no way sensational, for the recommendations of the Committee, both general and particular, are mostly in favour of modifications of the existing conditions rather than radical change. Nevertheless, or rather for that reason, its proposals are likely to benefit both India and the Crown colonies, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that the whole subject has been thoroughly reviewed and every grievance considered. Study of the general question of emigration from India practically narrows itself down to study of indentured emigration. The system of indenture has tis origin in legislation which the government of India found it necessary to pass in 1837 for the protection of emigrants to Mauritius, but did not take the form it has since kept until 1842. The question of indentured labour having been discussed in Parliament, a committee was appointed in Calcutta to study, the whole matter. A majority of this body pronounced against the continuance of emigration but Sir J.P.Grant, dissenting from his colleagues, contended that the defects in the system were remediable and that with proper safeguards imigration was desirable. The measures be recommended are worth noticing.

was desirable. The measures he recommended are worth noticing, for they are, with slight differences, those in force now. Emigration, he argued, should be restricted to certain parts, at each of which there should be a Protection of Emigrants, and he suggested that security for return passage money should be demanded, and that the Government should prohibit emigration to any Colony in which the Laws applicable to them were harsh or otherwise unsuitable. He insisted particularly that permission to import Labour from India should be refused to any colony the laws of which gave power to interfere with the liberty of workers out of working hours or to punish them otherwise than through the law courts. This report being presented to Parliament in 1842, and 1843, to which reference has already been made as fixing the system ever since in force.

Thereafter, few questions of importance affecting indentured emigration arose for thirty years. Such abuses as were brought to light in Mauritius, British Guiana and Natal were removed as the result of the appointment of commissions to investigate them. Since then there have been practically no serious complaints from the Crown colonies, though various minor defects both in the system of recruiting and in the treatment of Indian emigrants have from time to time been brought to notice. During Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty some cases of ~~kindxnapping~~ kidnapping and other objectionable practices on the part of recruiters were reported, and two officials, one of whom, colonel Pitcher, gave evidence before the present committee, were deputed to conduct an enquiry in the United Provinces and Bengal. They found that though recruiters were occassionally guilty of malpractices, that was partly due to the needless and vexatious restrictions imposed on them, and it was recommanded that the government should take a more active part in the promotion of emigration and should strive to remove misconceptions and prejudices.

These recommandations, however, were not acted upon, and the Government contended themselves with passing the Act of 1883 to ensure prompt and careful registration of ~~immigrants~~ immigrants so as to enable them to be easily traced, and to provide for magisterial supervision of up country depots. This act remained in force until, two years ago, the consolidated Act, embodying certain minor amendments of the intervening years, was passed. All the crown colonies receiving immigrants have now a Protector of Immigrants or an Agent General, and copies of the Reports of these officials are supplied to the Government of India, who have further means of securing information in the Report of officers of the Indian Services deputed accassionally to visit the Crown Colonies.

We have seen that the Government of India did not accept the suggestion of the two officers who investigated the system of recruiting that they should take a more active part in promoting emmigration. The reasons for their opposition to all such ~~pxxxxx~~ proposals are recorded in their reply to Lord Salisburry's Despatch of 1875 urging the similar schemes. The Government of India there pointed out that active participation of the Government in encouraging emigration would be liable to popular misapprehension, and that, moreover the government could not very well undertake responsibilities towards the colonies on the one hand and the emigrants on the other which it would be exceedingly difficult to discharge and failure to discharge which would be discreditable. The Government of India summed up their policy as one of seeing fair play between the parties without in any way mixing themselves up in the bargain. To that policy they have ever since adhered, and their Despatch of December 1908, shows that they have no intention of departing from it now. This as the committee recognises, is well advised. None of the arguments used by the Government in 1877 have lost their force, and the development of an awkward

situation in Natal since it was given self-government had added weight to their objection to making themselves parties to the contracts between the Colonies and the emmigrants instead of merely insisting, from a neutral position, on equity.

The emigration is distinctly beneficial both to the Crown colonies and to the emigrants is indisputable Emigration of indentured labourers from India has supplied workers for many Crown colonies whose main industries would else have collapsed. Moreover, according to several witnesses before the Committee, in the West India and British Guiana at any rate, the thrifty and persevering habits of the Indian workers have been an example to the native population, and by setting up competitions the emigrants have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ stimulated them to new habits of industry and in some cases taught them improved methods of agriculture. Thus in British Guiana the Indians have introduced rice cultivation with success, and instead of importing rice as heretofore, that Colony is now able to export a considerable quantity. It is further admitted that the majority of Indians who remain in the Crown Colonies after the expiration of their indentures, either as proprietors or free labourers, prove a valuable addition to the population . The emmigrants in many cases acquire considerable wealth, and the descendants of those who settle down in the Colonies often develop into a much higher type of citizen than persons of their class would if in India. The committee, one notes with amused interest, has extended its study of the benefits of life in the Crown Colonies to its effect, after a generation or two, on feminine appearance, and its sober summary of the material advantages accruing to Indians is relieved by an enconnium of the good looks of the Indian Colonial born ladies of Trimided, whose photographs, we are assured, would serve excellently as illustrations to the "Arabian Nights". We

~~the "Arabian Nights"~~. We give the fact some prominence becasse it is a frequent cause of complaint that a sufficiently large proportion of women do not accompany the emigrants. If the effect of Trimided on Feminine apperance once become known in the villages of India the defeciency will surely be remedied! But to return to less frivolous matters, it is clear from the returns of the money remitted by Indians from the Crown colonies to this country that they achieve considerable material success. Emigration is therefore to be encouraged, for its effect on the Indian labour market, except in certain areas, is infimiesimal, though some misconception on this point appears common in commercial circles in India.

But the committee recomands that certain conditions at present not generally observed should be made indispensabee. In the first place, the committee insists, and very rightly, that the system of reindenture should be abolished. It has already fallen into desuetude in Trimided and Jamaica, and it has not been in force for 35 years in British Guiana. It might well be abolished elsewhere. The only two considerations which justify indenture are the necessity of providing for his protection in strange surroundings. These considerations cannot, of course, have any force after an emigrant has completed his term. Next the committee recommends that emigration under indenture should be allowed only to such colonies as after an opportunity to the time expired workers to settle in an independent capacity on the land. This was the view taken by Lord Salisbury when secretary of State for India, and it is undoubtedly right. In some colonies, however, considerable difficulty will be found in meeting this condition. Thus, in view of the objections of the European settlers in the uplands of British East Africa to any increase in the number of the resident Indian population, that colony must be ruled out. The committee considers that Indian Colonies might be established in

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Uganda, but points out the initial and apparently in superable financial difficulty. There is no longer any scope, it finds, for emigration to mauritins, nor in the smaller British West Indian Islands. British Honduras on the other hand, seems a promising new field. British Guiana and Trimidad must continue to need some 2,000 Indians a year and the smaller demand of Jamaica is continuous. In the straits settlements heavy mortality is a deterrast. In Fiji, as we learn from news of xxx recant late, the need for Indian labour is becoming urgant, and in view of the seriousness of the position the authorities would do well to concede the right of settling and acquiring land. As regards recruitment, the committee's main recommendations are that the area for recruitment should be limited to those tracts where there is a known surplus of labour, namely, the area in Bengal and the united Provinces which already xxxxxx provides 50 percent of the emigrants, and that an Emigration Agent should be stationed at the centre of that tract (Benares).

Madras Mail,

13th August, 1910.

THE UNREST IN INDIA.

The remarkable series of articles on the unrest in India, which the Special Correspondent of the Times' has contributed to that journal, will do much to clear away misconceptions common in England and not altogether unknown among Anglo Indians. The two commonest misconceptions in England, as he points out, are that dis-affection is a new phenomenon in India, and that the existing disaffection represents,"a genuine, if precocious and misdirected, response on the part of the Eastern educated classes to the democratic ideals of the modern western world which our system of education has imported into India". The first is not peculiar to the British public. We have once or twice read articles in Anglo-Indian contemporaries which left the impression that in the view of their writers disaffection was a very recent growth, while the language used by many Indian journals and speakers would lead one to suppose that any sort of restriction of the seditious Press was a price of un-precedented oppression, a thing for which then had never been in the recent past any pretext, and the embodiment of a principle never before recognised by the Government of India. It is very pertimently, therefore, that the special correspondent of the 'Times' recalls the Press Legislation of thirty years ago and the circumstances that justified it. But it is far more important to make it clear to the British Public that there is nothing genuinely democratic in the movement which is so often regarded as merely an Eastern echo of Western Radicalism, and in exposing this error more thoroughly than any one else has yet done, the Special Correspondent of the "Times", Mr.Velentine Chirol who recently visited India, has rendered valuable service. The position in India is doubtless difficult for the average Englishman at Home to understand. The antithesis to democracy

that suggests itself to him is austocracy, and when he is told that the Indian aristacracy almost to a man is out of sympathy with the movement, he feels some what bewildered. He does not realise that in India, apart from an aristocracy corresponding more or less to that of Europe, and composed of holders heriditery titles and great land owners, there is an aristocracy peculiar to India, consisting of persons who are mostly not in aristocratic, or affluent, circumstances but who are nevertheless in general estimation far above the mass of the people, and are in no mind to lose the position which tradition and their intellectual abilities have secured them. ~~So much~~ To such a reader, the articles of the "Times 'special correspondent will come as a rendation. They will enable him to understand what every unprejudical observer in this country knows, that the so called Nationalist movement in India is assentially a class movement, a movement of the higher castes of Hindus, and that its logical out come would be not democracy but Oligarchy.

And if the movement is not democratic, it is also not a response to any western ideal. As the special correspondent of the Times' observes:-- "Its main spring is a deep rooted antagonism to all the principles upon which western society, especially in a democratic country like England, has been built up". The change that has come over the attitude of educated Indians towards Great Britain and the West generally during the last thirty years is very striking. The writer of the articles under notice describes it excellently in a study of "the Hindu revival; but there is one aspect of it, and not the least important, which he has practically ignored. Thirty years ago, the most eminent of those Indians who had come into touch with western culture were before all things zealous for social reform, using that term in a vite sense. How far this ~~moderal loss~~

gradual loss of enthusiasm may be ascribable to disappointment at the small results of their efforts, and how far to a feeling that contimeal insistence on the defects of their social system would prejudice such political claims as they then modestly put forward, it is hard to say. But for both these reasons the social Reform movement weakened, energies were diverted to political agitation, and the period in which educated Indians were most anxious to resolutionise their society in accordence with Western principles passed without much having been done. In the succeeding phase, which has continued to the present day and the end of which is not in sight. There is the strongest disinclination to admit the superiority or even the emnts of anything western. It has become a point of patriotism to assert the value of many customs, beliefs and institutions that the leading educated Indians of thirty years ago either openly condemned or at most defended in an apologetic manner.

We are far from saying that the leaders of a generation ago were wholly right in their attitude, or that those of the present day are wholly mistaken. The former were too often uncritical and doctrinaire, they had some of the faults as well as some of the virtues of their western masters, the philosophical Radicals of the mind-victorian era. But now the reacton has gone much too far, and it is depressing to find men of intelligence defending the most preposterous paradosces out of mistaken patriotism; instead of being. Content with the reasonable contention that Indian civilisation has its special virtues and, what ever its defects is the only civilisation in which Indians can really be at home. Of course, it has not been possible for educated Indians to return to the old beliefs and principles unreservedly; they have reinterpreted most of them in the light of Western knowledge. In part, this reinterpretatiin is work for which

sympathy and respect must be felt, the work of genuine reformers, who, though they may often be subconscious-ly influenced by their western anlture when they imagine they are merely returning to the primitive truths of their own race, are more the less engaged on a high task. But they are, unhappily, under forms of thus activity, some of them very mischievous. An imaginary goldenage of Swaraj has been created for a country that was never at any historical epach before the British Raj under a single authority and never for a single year knew place, and the vision is called upon of another goldenage in the future, when an impure alien civilisation will have been driven out of the country.

How this newage is to be ushered in is a point on which, as the special correspondent of the Times' notes, most of the Nationalist leaders are dumb. He finds, and rightly, the one definite plan of campaign in the speeches delivered three years ago in Madras by Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal, whose ability and importance he, however, rather overrates. According to that itinerant agitator swaraj will come, not by violence, but by passive resistance. Government by the British is not to be destroyed but simply rendered impracticable by boycotting positions under the government and those who accept them, and by refusing to cooperate in any way with the Government. This agitator even went so far as denounce the good works of the government, not because be thought them evil, but because they evoked gratitude from the people, and thus put difficulties in the way of the campaign of passive resistance. The plan thus out lined is fit matter for laughter, but when Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal went on to speak of the final stage, the transition from the collapse of British government to the establishment of swaraj, he showed the ingenuity which makes his utterances

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xm dangerously attractive to his aurdinences. In the final stage, after India had secured colonial self-governmetnt, he said, great Britain would have to choose between having per as copartner, and as an independent ally. As a copartner India would be impossible, she would impose enormous responsibility on Great Britain without the power of providing for it. Therefore, India would be granted absolutbe autonomy. It is moonshine, but it shows what is expected by a tupical Nationalist to be the outcome of colonial self-government is merely "a common political denomination for marious schools of politicians who mostly want much more but can work together as far as that. It is well that the British public should have this made clear to it. But even without looking beyond the stage at which colonial self-government would be granted, it is necessary to emphasise the very obvious and, therefore, constantly overlooked fact that a system designed for a colony, bound by ties or Kinship and a common civilisation to the Mother country, would be absurdly ensuited at any stage to a country whose population is alien in blood and possessing its own civilisation, which it is determined to conserve and xxxxxxxxx reminify. When Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal was showing how Great Britain faced by a dilemma would prefer "freeing" India to keeping her as a Copartner, he was really though he did not realise it, stating the best argument against ever creating that dilemma, that is, against ever establishing colonial self government. But these are questions that will not have to be considered practically for a generation or more. What concerns us is the present. The 'Times' special correspondent takesxx no despondent view of the situation. He points out how limited the forces of dis-affection are, and how strong is Great Britain position in India if its advantages are properly utilised such speeches as that of Mr.Montagu at Cambridge show that there is no lack of determination to maintain the policy which i already justified by its results. '

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Madras Mail,

23rd August, 1910.

INDIAN PRINCES AS ADVISERS.

It does not appear what the accassionnis of the article in the 'times' of which Renter cahlas a summary today, but a reminder of the importance of securing the counsel and cooperation of the Princes of India in dealing with Indian problems is always timely. Lord Minto has certainly done much in that direction. The pleasant personal relations he has established with many of the principal Ruling Chiefs, his valuable statement of the policy of nonintervention in the speeches he made during his tour in Rajputana and his correspondence with Indian Princes on the best methods of coping with sedition have brought about fuller understanding and closer association between the Government of India and the Rulers of Native States. But it must be admitted that the 'Times' is justified in commenting with some severity on failure to consult them in regard to other matters, notably the opium question, in which several States are greatly interested. We do not know whether the fact has been noticed by the 'Times' in the article under consideration, but it is very evident to observers in this country that the policy of consultation with Native, states does not find favour with large sections of the educated middle class. Rather inconsistently the very writers who hold up certain Native States as models of enlightened rule from which the Government of India might take lessons raise objections to the advice of their Rulers being sought on questions of policy. The usual argument is that those Rulers have no direct interest in such matters but that is taking a very narrow view. There is no important development in the policy of the Government of India which does not affect the Native states, and they have a very great interest in the prosperity and tranquility of British India. The real objection, it may be suspected, is that Indian Princes are usually what the Frenchcall'

"men of government". They have experience of the practical difficulties of administration, and are, with few exceptions, disinclined to appland the scheme of reform so light-heartedly put forwward by persons without such experience and with little responsibility. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Government have refrained fDDm consulting the Indian Princes out of defence to the prejudice above mentioned. Rather, as the 'Times' suggests, it is Lord Morley's accasional forgetfulness of the existence of the Native States which explains some strange omissions.

Madras Mail,

15th September, 1910.

LESSONS OF LOYALTY.

Amongst all the sinister manifestations of discontent with British Rule and hatred of the British which appeared during the last three years there have been not a few signs that the better mind of the country was very seriously concerned to check the seditious movement by cutting off its supply and recruits from among students and schoolboys Several organisations have undertaken the distribution of wholesome political literature, and some leading publicists have warned students against participating in political agitation. But it has remained for an Indian member of the Bengal Provincial Service, Mr.S.N.Dass, of Basirpat, Bengal, to produce a work which must strongly influence the rising generation of Indians towards loyalty. We have referred before to his book "Footprints", but it deserves more extended notice. Its aim is to inculcate loyalty indirectly, not by exhortations to which many would probably turn a deaf ear, but by illustration of the finest traits of the British government. These illustrative anecdotes are drawn from a great variety of sources. On a single page of the synopsis of the book we find, for instance, the story of the last days of King Edward VII. an account of how His Majesty the present King Undertook the most labourers and least agreeable portions of a Naval Officer's work with cheerful zeal, the story of how the late captain Dawes last his life in attempting in Mysore to save an Indian boatman from drowning and an anecdote from the life of the Dake of Wellington Calculated to impress a love of truthfulness on young minds. There are few pages which do not contain some story revealing the regard of British administrators for the Indian people, or their sense of duty, or their courage in time of trial. The effect of reading such a book on Indian schoolboys is easy to imagine. Some of them may have listened to sedition mongers, and be disinclined to admit any favourable generalisation as

to the character of the British people. But when definite instances of fine conduct are put before them, they cannot but honour the individuals of whom they are related, and they must thus be led to respect the whole race.

Mr. Das knows well what he is about. He leaves generalisations to the last, and it is only when the young reader's mind has been filled with records of British heroism and chivalry and humanity that he is invited to consider the effects of British Rule in India. The School boy reading the book thus approaches the claims made on behalf of British rule without unfavourable prejudices, and is, therefore, for more likely to acknowledge the justice of such claims than if they had been thrush before him at the outset. The Book is a excellent are, and we hope that it will be widely adopted for use in schools. But there are further possibilities in the idea. For example, it would be no bad thing to prepare a volume for use in European schools in this country calculated to make youths of the domiciled community think more highly of Indians. No reasonable person has contended that the desired racial 'repprochement' in India should come from one side only. Lord Dufferin, when leaving India said:-- "What ever you do, line in unity and concord and good fellowship with each other. Fate has united both races in a community of interests, and neither can do without the other. Therefore, again, I say, co-operate with each other in a governors and gemid spirit." Mr.Das has already done useful work in one direction in bringingout a condition of affairs far more needf[ul] now than when Lord Dafferin spoke; there is also something to be done from the other direction. Good feeling between fellow subjects is the basis of loyalty to the crown, and it is as false as it is offensive for any Indian who is at ensuity with the British in India or any Englishman who is at enrmity with the Indian peoples to protest his loyalty to

Madras Mail,

24th September, 1910.

THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL.

The Special correspondent in India of the Morning Post' has rendered useful service in drawing attention to certain weaknesses in the Viceroy's Council. The present system of turning the memberships of that council into stepping stones to a Lientenant Governorship finds no favour in his eyes, and we are disposed to take the same view. We agree with him that this system causes a good deal of Conscious and unconscious time serving, for which he finds a Milder term, A member who aspires to a Lientenant Governorship, and knows that his chances of realising his hopes depend on pleasing the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, is hardly likely to display the independence that is desirable in a Member of the Supreme Council. We do not, of course, suggest that even so autocratic a Secretary of State as Lord Morley would be likely to make or mar the future of a Member Simply accordingly as he was acquiescent or independent. But the mere fact of having prospects, the realisation of which is contingent on Winning the favour of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, must in nine cases out of ten, have a considerable effect on the attitude of Members in discussions not vitally effecting their special departments or touching some cherished principle of theirs. The correspondent whose opinion we have cited considers that Members of the Viceroy's Council should have no prospect of higher employment in India. We would go even further and say that they should have no prospect of a seap on the India council, Indeed, it seems to us that the latter disqualification is more needed than the former, for the present tendency is to make the winning of the special favour of the Secretary of State rather than of the Viceroy the condition of success. To remove the temptation to be subservient to the Viceroy while leaning the inducement

to be submissive to the Secretary of State would be to leave the greater danger unguarded against.

It may be objected that these dangers cannot be serious, since the present system has worked fairly well all these years. But conditions have changed lately. On the one hand Lord Morley has extended the control of the India office; on the other a long step has been made towards self-government in India. Lord Morley has been sharply criticised in many quarters of late for his autocratic proclimities, and not without a good deal of justice. At the same time, it is only fair to him to bear in mind that the conditions have been exceptional. In a time of unrest and radical reform, questions of principle are raised in a way they would not be ordinarily and on questions of principle the Secretary of State has every night to be heard. But Whatever the excuses, the fact remains that Lord Morley has encroached to some extent on the authority of the Viceroy, As a defence against such encroachments it is necessary that the government of India should be strengthened, so that a strong Viceroy may have vigorous support from colleagues who have nothing to gain by yielding to the Secretary of State and that a weak Viceroy should lack shares in his feebleness. The strengthening of the council is necessary also an account of the reform and expansion of the Legislative Council. If Lord Morley's policy is closely examined, it becomes apparent that there are contradictory tendencies in it. On the one hand be and Lord Minto have given Indians a much greater share in the Government of the country; on the other hand, he has endeavoured to centralise authority at the India office. The position thus resulting is in many ways unsatisfactory, and makes it the more desirable that the Viceroy's council should be thoroughly independent and capable of asserting itself equally against the Secretary of State and the new elements in the Government. But when some of the ~~new elements~~

Members are working with a view to future advancement that desideratum is hardly likely to be satisfied.

Apart from this, it is worth while considering two recen events which have weakened the Viceroy's Council the appointment of Mr.Clarke and the resignation of Mr.Sinha. It would be profitless at this date to repeat, the objections we set forth weeks ago to Mr.Clarke's appointment. We are now concerned with it only as an instance of the weakening of the Viceroy's Council. If young men, however,able, are to be thrust into the Viceroy's council from the Home Civil Service on account of services they have rendered to British politicians, consequences, quite apart from the effect on the effeciency of their special Departments, must be harmful. Mr.Clarke has no knowledge of India, and for two or three years at any rate his opinion on any matter beyond the purview of his Department will necessarily be of small value. He is beholden to politicians at Home, and he will not be human if, at this age, he has not an eye to his future at Home. Is it possible for such a Member to form a sound opinion on Indian affairs, or probably that he will strenuously standout against the willof those at Home to whom he is indebtd for his appointment and on whom, largely, his future depends? Mr.Suibas' resignation raises many questions. It is generally agreed that, in the present state of affairs, it is exceedingly diddicult to find an Indian with the qualifications for any membership of the Viceroy's Council other than the Legal membershop. But a lawyer of the highest class finds the membership insufficiently attractive. It looks rather as it for many years the Viceroy's Council will utter have to do without any Indian Member or to be content with a layyer of mediocre obitities.

To sum up the foregoing criticisms, we think that a membership of the Viceroy's council should be the highest post to which an official can aspire.

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Madras Mail,

26th September, 1910.

INDIANS IN THE STRAITS.

We learn from the Annual Report for 1909 of Mr. L.H.Clayton, superintendent of Indian Immigrants to the straits settlements and Federated Malay States, which has just been issued, that 49,817 persons emigrated from Southern India to Penang last year. Of these 4,119 were statute immigrants, 20,289 were freecoolies with aided passage tickets and 25,409 were classed as other immigrants. There was a decrease in the first and third classes in 1909 as compared with the two proceding years, amounting in the aggregate to 4,700 as compared with 1908 and to 10,700 as compared 1907. On the other hand, the number of Indians which returned to India from the Straits settlements- viz., 30, 284 adult and 1,090 children was higher in the year under review than in either of the preceding years. The decrease in the number of statute immigrants, 3,601 of whom were allotted to private employers and 518 to various government Departments in the Federated Malay States is attributed to agreat extent to competition Southern India caused by recruiters for Fiji and Natal. The wages for statute immigrants amounted to 25 cents per day., or As.7. for men, and for women to 18 cents or As.5, while for free coolies the rates varied between 30 and 40 cen s for men and 20 and 30 cenys for women in different districts. No deductions were made from wages on account of the cast of importation, which system is approved by the large majority of planters in a colony. The commission paid to native recruiters for statute immigrants was, as before, Rs.22 per head. Statute immigrants were shipped by the Government Agency at Negapatam regularly during the year and a few also from Madras in the early part of the yea , but it is proposed in future to ship free labour only from Madras. Supply of Tamil labour in the colony is said to have been about equal to the demand, until

the last month or so of the year, when employers began to be concerned about recruiting prospects for 1910. A large majority of the free co lies were recruited by Kanganis for estates in the Federated Malay States, and Mr.Clayton has "little doubt that an estate recruiting with Kanganis has a better chance of obtaining the labour it requires than one that relies on the Immigration Department, which can of course only work through professional recruitors".

An important feature of the Report in connection with the Law passed in Parliament forbidding further indentured immigration from India to the straits is that dealing with the death rate. The percentage of morality among statute immigrants, calculated on the average population, is given as 4.57 in 1909, as compared with 3.64 in 1908 and 5.43 in 1907. It is explained, however, that the avegage population, on which the death rate is calculated, is obtained by taking the average number remaining on the first of each month, so that the death rate of 4.57 percent does not mean that 4.57 percent of those employed died. On the total number of statute immigrants employed during the year the death rate is 3.18 per cent. Some estates seem to have been especially unhealthy last year. For instance on Karvan Estate, the death rate was 11 per cent and on Sungol Dasi 6.15 per cent. On the other hand, one estate had a death rate as low as 1.96 percent, while another, veld'or, there were none deaths among statute immigrants, and, paradosiscally enough, the cast mentioned is one of the few estates which maintains no hospital. As regard free coolies, Bukrit Asakan, with an average population of about 340, had no fewer than 80 deaths giving a death rate of about 23 per cent. As, however, 59 of the deaths accured in the first half year as against 21 in the second, it was hoped that there would be an improvement this year. Diamond Jubilee, with an average population of about 400, had 15 deaths giving a death rate of about 3.7

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3.7 per cent which is more satisfactory. Both these estates maintain their own hospitals. Altogether returns were received from sixteen estates employing free coolies, and an a total average population of about 3,550; 181 deaths were reported giving a death rate of about 5.2 percentage which would have been reduced to about 3.2 percentage, if it had not been for the high rate on Bukit Asahan.

Madras Mail,

1st October, 1910.

THE PRESS IN TRAVANCORE.

The action of His Highness the Maharajah of Tranvancore in suppressing a vernacular paper by executive order will be approved by everyone who is aware of the license and audacity which has chanacterised the 'Swadeshabhimani for a long time past. More than 25 years ago, three students in the college who were criticising Travancore and its affairs unfairly were expelled and, for a time, there was place in the land. One of those students subsequently developed into a wellknown Madras journalist and two of them in later life took service in the very State which they had belittled. His Highness's Government have always been tolerant and have very rarely been roused to the disagreeable necessity of extreme measures. About 20 years ago an English paper on the west Coast descended to abuse and personal gratification but the state was helpless till it became clear that two European officers in the States' service were responsible for a good deal of the acrid and ungenerous criticism, and with the help of the British Resident the Delinquents were compelled to leave the State service and territory. At that time there were no English on vernacular papers in Trevandrum, and lent one or two newspapers, of a non political complexion, in the Province. In 1892 or 1893 the 'Western Star', the oldest South Indian English paper extant, which was published in British Cochin was removed to Trevandrum by Mr.A.P. smith, who was then its Editor, with the approval of the then Dewan, the Late Mr.S.Shunga Soobyer and Mr.Gugg, the British President. The Western Star in Trevandrum developed from a weekly into a triweekly and has continued with much success ever since; and encouraged by the "Western Star's" action, vernacular papers sprang up in all directions.

If a free Press does not appreciate liberty and

uses its power for base purposes the only remedy is to deprice it of its power to work harm. Some people are apparently inclined to consider the executive order of H.H. the Maharajah unconstitutional; but the question is:-- Is there a constitution in a Native State? " It is true that His Highness has established a Legislative Council and has granted a Representative Assembly, but that does not mean that he has deprived himself of all executive authority in the directions whan the prompt exercise of such authority is desirable. In every government the ultimate appeal is to force. The Press should cooperate in good government, and it is unquestionable that His Highness is constitutional to a fault and never interferes ~~that Press~~ with the routine of government. It is possible that a Press law in which the innocent would suffer with the guilty did not meet with his approval, and the decisive action now taken is meant to be a whole some lesson to journalists within the state. There are one or two papers, however, in British territory which accasionally are extremely offersive in comments on Travancore affairs, and the best way to deal with them appears to be to prohibit their reception into Tracancore.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha. 4-10-1910.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha, at its Annual General meeting yesterday, inaugurated a new departure, by which one of its prominent members is to take stock of the political situation in India and review the outstanding features of the political activities of the past year. This task fell to the hon'ble Mr.(V.T.)Seshagiri Iyer at yesterday's meeting, and in his comprehensive survey he referred to the chief events of the year and showed what influence they had had on the conduct of popular movements in this country. He referred to the death of King Edward VII and the accession of King George, and passed on to the proposed All India Memorial and the Proclamation Pillar at Allahabad to commemorate the proclamation of 1858 and the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto. In connection with the work of the Imperial legislative council, he passed in review the leading incidents of the year and commented adversely on the extension of the Seditions Meetings Act for a further period. He contended that any permanent interdiction of free and open criticism could not conduce to the good work of the rulrs, but he failed to note that much of what passes for free and open criticism in some Indian journals and elsewhere can not be reckoned as either honesty well informed or free from Malice. Not one of the recent repressive measures. Can fairely be said to prevent honest, outspoken and impartial criticism of the work of Government. That so many well conducted and responsible journals have not been deterred from carrying on their honourable work, despite the existence of Press regulations, is indicative of the fact that these measures do not prevent criticism of the right sort, and we regret that Mr.Seshagiri Iyer did not discriminate between the false critic and the true. He spoke strongly about'

self seekers' and informers, and seems to have included among this undesirable class of persons many of those who actively range themselves on the side of law and order and try to do what lies in their power to promote good government in the land. It is sincerely to be hoped that gentlemen of the type of Mr.Seshagiri Iyer will continue to work vigorously and by their public work render the self-seeker impossible. The Hon'ble Mr.Subha Rao's study of the present situation in India, judging from what he said yesterday, seems to have been vitiated by lack of a true grasp of the policy of Government which underlies their recent legislative measures. In his speech he testified to the existence of divergent views amongst public men on public questions, but inconsistently complained of the Government taking note of the fact and trying to provide for the adequate representation of all interests in the legislative councils.

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Tamil Coolies in Malaya. 18 - 11 - 1910.

Hard working and Docile.

Today says, the Times of Malaya' of the 7th instant, we deal with kling cooly, who is next in importance to the Chinese among the many immigrant races which form the bulk of the population of the Federated Malaya states. The Kling is a native of the southern part of the Madras Presidency, and he, too, is in the main a flecting element in the community, though there is also an appreciable local Tamil population. In the Krian irrigation district there are about 500 Tamils registered as holding 2,000 acres of rice land, but the vast majority of Tamils are men of low caste, employed as coolies, chiefly upon estates, roads and public works, like the chinese, they hope to return with their savings to their own country, and like them, too, but in a less marked degree, they are largely adult males unaccompanied by their women and children. As things are at present, there are few occupations open to them in which the women and children can also earn a share, as is the case in the Ceylon tea industry, where plucking is done by them. The Tamil, being a Hindu, is despised by the Mohamedan Malay, but the latter will acknowledge, and even intermarry with him, if he becomes a prosetyte to Mohamedanism, as has occurred to some extent in Malacca. The amalgamation of the two races does not, however, seem to produce any great advantage to the breed. While from the point of view of a future mixed race the Tamil is perhaps the least desirable of the immigrant races, on the other hand, he is at present simply indispensable as a coolie for estate and road work, etc. He is hard working and docile under kind and firm treatment, and with work under Europeans or chinese. No one who has

seen him in his own country can doubt his energy and comparative success as a small cultivator. It would be hard to find a greater contrast than that between the Malay states and the vast garden of a large part of Madras Presidency of the thousands of Tamils in the states probably the vast majority intend, or hope, to return to India. Except the chettias, there are no capitalists among them, and the few who settle and engage in agriculture do so upon a very small scale, and, though increasing the population, add but little to the export trade. It is possible that if special reservations were made for Tamil settlers, where they could have complete villages of a single caste, with their own local headmen, they would settle more readily. But they are a home lowing rale, and considerable inducements will have to be held out if they are to be persuaded to settle in appreciable numbers.

The Viceroy on Loyalty. 12 3-12-1910.

His Excellency the Viceroy has struck the right note in his replies to the deputations which waited on him yesterday. In replying to the Imperial League, he indicated very plainly his opinion that its efforts should not be confined to assuring the viceroy of its loyal sentiments. Of course, such assurances, publicly made, have much value. They disconcert the seditious and influence waverers for good. But the real work of such bodies must be done less in corporate than in individual activity. It is the influence which the members of the League exercise each in his own circle that counts for most, and Lord Hardinge did well to remind the League of this side of its work. His short speech contained also the declaration that "Government must steadily and firmly take the necessary measures for the maintenance of peace and order and for the protection of the great loyal majority." There is nothing startling in this recognition of the obvious and primary duty of the Government, but it is well that at the outset a new Viceroy should make it perfectly clear that he is resolved to preserve public tranquillity. In speaking to the British Indian Association, Lord Hardenge expressed pointedly his appreciation of the reference made in the address from that body to the work of superior officials. There has at times been too much tolerance of expressions of loyalty towards Great Britain accompanied by acrimonious criticism of the agencies by which Great Britain rules in India. We fear that in most cases the protestations of such loyalty are made merely to give sedition an air of responsibility. But even when that is not so, such loyalty

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is of very little practical value when an Indian politician professes attachement to "the great British people" while assailing their picked representatives in this country indiscriminately, he is either a hypocrite or one who mistakes the clique of anti-British M.P's for genuine representatives of Great Britain. Individual officials and particular Departments may deserve serve condemnation at times, but every loyal Indian recognises that their rulers of the state on the whole have laboured strenuously for the good of India and its peoples, and that but for their whole hearted acceptance of new conditions all the Reforms would be worth less. It is most desirable that the viceroy should let it be known that he values highly such recognition on the part of leading Indians, as Lord Hardinge has shown that he does.

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<u>The Congress.</u> 9 - 12 - 1910.

In a little more than a fortnight the Indian National Congress will assemble at Allahabad, where active preparations for the session are in progress. The gathering promises to be of unusual interest in more than one respect. For one thing, the congress will be called upon to reopen the question of its constitutinn, which was settled at the convention held at Allahabad shortly after the surat fiasco. Those who then secedid from the Party which stood for moderation and constitutional agitation have made no secret of their dissatisfaction with the constitution framed by those who tried to save the congress from permament dissolutinn. They have been making great efforts to secure a modification in the constitution which would allow the seceders to rejoin and to take part as of old in the deliberations of the congress But the leaders of the constitutional Party have not been disposed to readmit the seceders to the fold. This year, again, proposals have been made in Bengal to bring about a re-approachments between the two parties and to place the congress on the old basis. one of the most important points in the constitution is the stress laid on the necessity of every delegate of the congress signing the creed before being allowed to take part in its deliberations. This has been a stumbling block with the seceder who refuse to be bound by any creed and desire to have their own way, and, if possible, dominate the proceedings, in defiance of the rules of debate and discussion. First, they fiercely opposed the creed, and finding that those responsible for the constitution were determined not to allow any loophole by which the undesirable element might get in and give

trouble, an attempt is now being made by the Bengal Provincial Congress committee, apparently in the interests, if not actually at the instance, of the seceders, to render the acceptance of the creed in writing not obligatary, by a proposal to the effect that every congress delegate shall be deemed to have accepted the objects of the congress and to have agreed to its Rules and Regulations. The constitutional party has carried on the work of the congress during the last three years, in a critical period of the history of India, and it has had the sympathy of the more sober element among the educated classes. It was no easy task for it to succeed in giving the congress a working constitution, and it is improbably that it will now allow any interference by men whose methods of political work it condemns. Circumstances may have altered some what, but not to much an extent as to permit the reunion of parties on the old basis.

The recent Reforms in the constitution of the Government of India and in the Imperial and provincial Legislatures are to be given an important place in the proceedings of the congress; but though the feeling among some sections of the Indian community may be that the Regulations framed under the Indian council Act are not all that they would like them to be, the leaders should not forget that the Regulations have been in force but a few months, and that it is too soon to condemn them as calculated to defeat the spirit in which the Act has been conceived. In this connection, the question which has been most exercising the minds of the Indian public has been that of communal representation and seperate electorates. The irreconcilables among both the Hindus and Mohamedans have taken up extreme positions

in urging their respective claims for preferential consideration. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Iman used their influence and power of persuasion to bring about mutual good feeling between the two communities, but a solution of the problem has not been reached, and other influential leaders, such as Sir Pherozesha Mehta, the Right Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali and ~~XXX~~ H.H. the Agakhan, are now endeavouring to remove the misunderstandings and to establish friendly relations between the two great people. With this object in view, a Hindu Muhamodan conference is to be held in Bombay in January, when it is possible that a modern vivendi will be found. The congress this year would therefore be well advised to not doing anything calculated to embarass, but to give every help in its power to facilitate, the work of the conference.

The recent repressive legislation of the Government of India is also to be one of the subjects for deliberation at the congress. Some congressmen think, no doubt, that the repressive measures have heavily handicapped the constitutional party while they have barely touched those whose activities are of the revolutionary order. But it should not be difficult for those who assisted at the Allahabad convention in devising a constitution and framing Rules and Regulations for the conduct of congress business to realise how difficult it is to legislate in an emergency in order to repress undesirable and mischievous activities without at the same time rendering themselves open to the allegation of being high handed and unsympathetic, unfounded as these allegations may be. The congress will do well to remember that the Government of India are no more unreasonable, high handed or unsympathetic than

the conventionists have been in their attempts to put down the forces of extremism in the ranks of the congress and to check their powers for mischief. If the congress is anxious to put down anarchism and disloyalty, it cannot reasonably plead for a reversal of the recent legislation, which was designed to protect the interests and to promote the good of the loyal majority.

With the introduction of the Reform scheme the country may be said to have entered on a new stage in its political history, and the present session will be a fitting opportunity for the congress to consider the advisability of adjusting its programme of work so as to conform to the altered condition of things. The enlargement of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative councils, their reconstitution on a wider elective basis, the introduction of communal representation- all these have certainly the Legislative councils better fitted, to discuss public questions from popular standpoints than before. In these councils the government and the representatives of the people have now much greater opportunities of coming into intimate contact with eath other and better means of understanding each other. It seems to us that it would be to some extent a waste of energy for the congress to traverse, as in previous years, the ground which could more effeciently be covered by the chosen representatives of the people in the Legislative councils. The congress might hereafter more usefully devote its annual session to the consideration of large questions of administrative policy affecting the country, and placing before government practical and constructive suggestions for improvement, conceived in the best interests of the country. There is a wide field for useful workin connection with the industrial

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and economic development of India, in which both the rulersxxxxxxx and the ruled can work hand in hand. The elevation of the depressed classes and allied questions of social reform, the improvement of the national and moral condition of the agricultural population, the promotion of Primary and mass education, and advance of rural sanitation these and many other practical problems are worthy of the closest attention of Indian politicians and the impetus which a body like the congress ought to be able to give to movements of this description should not fail to produce for reaching and generally beneficial results.

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Hindu Muslim Relations. 24-12-1910.

His Holiness the Agakhan, who is always both a staunch supporter of the interests of his community and a liberal minded advocate for inter racial co-operation, has made some characteristic remarks to an interviewer in Bombay. Emphasising the need for cordial relations between Hindus and Mohomedans, he declared that no sacrifice would be too great, no effort too arduous, to secure friendliness between the sister communities" such declarations come with all the more force from a leader whom no one can suspect of that confused benevolence which consists in proclaiming universal brotherhood when no such thing is possible. It is no part of the programme of those members of both communities who are promoting the approaching conference on the subject to ignore real, natural and in the main whole some differences. Each community has its special needs, its own traditions, its special part to plan in the future of India. Attempts at compromise which were based on the assumption that all those were non existent, or if existent to be destroyed, would be utterly futile. But on the basis of a frank recognition of communal interests as subordinate to the larger interests of India and of the Empire, it is possible to build up a genuine entente between Hindus and Mohomedans. As we argued when the special claims of Mohomedan were being considered with reference to the Reforms, mutual good will is far more likely to be maintained when the minority has no feeling of being politically or otherwise at the mercy of the majority. The general progress of the Mohomedans must in time create a feeling of confidence to hold their own, which will favour co-operation and also make the other community more anxious to secure it.

will favour co-operation and also make the other community more anxious to secure it. Every friend of India will cordially agree with His Highness the Aga Khan in desiring earnestly that Hindus and Mohomedans should learn to work together more harmoniously.

<u>The National Congress.</u> 26 -12- 1910.

Sir William Wedder burn's address to the Indians National congress at Allahabad today is a characteristic utterance. None of the supporters of the congress in England has shown more scal for the advancement of its objects, but, unlike most of his coadijustors in that work, Sir William Wedderburn has generally displayed some appreciation of the difficulties of the Government of India, some understanding of conditions which render hasty progress perilous, and some belief in the honesty of purpose and soundness of judgement of his fellow countrymen in high places in this country. We may differ from him on many points, but in his case we have little or no complaint to but in his case we have little or no complaint to make of deliberate perversion exagerration of facts or of bitterness of spirit. We say this because if has been so frequently necessary to criticise the British supporters of the congress severely that the false impression may be left that the mere fact of sympathising in any way with that organisation makes an Anglo Indian a renegade for whom no denunciation can be sufficiently strong. Sir William Wedderburn presides over the congress for the second time, and in the intervening years some of the main objects for which it has striken have been in a considerable measure realised. Important reformers may have been grievously disappointed at times during those years, but looking back new they must see that there has been progress in many directions, while the introduction of the Reforms and the appointment of Indians to the council of the secretary of State and to the Viceroy's as well as to the provincial executive councils, had given them, in the words of one of their

leaders, more than they hoped for. Sir William Wedderburn is not in appreciative of all this, though he speaks as if confronting rather the prospect than the achievement of reform. It is a very temperate enthusiasm which expresses itself in such words as these:--"During the last twenty years it has been difficult for the friends of India even to hope.......But now, at last, we see a gleam of light". Hope having revived, he declares it time to close our ranks and press forward with ordered discipline", a recommendation which might have been more fortunately enforced than by the quotation from a revolutionary of Swinburne's which we permitted himself. It is not in the spirit of Nassidor" that constitutional or other progress is to be achieved in India.

Sir William Wedderburn would be the first to acknowledge that. He is no firebrand "our watchwords", he tells the congress, must be Hope, conciliation, United Effort" on the need for conciliation he lays Great emphasis, and rightly. In the first place he urges conciliation as between officials and non officials. In doing so, he recalls expressions in the speeches of former congress Presidents which indicate that originally that organisation was inspired by no animosity towards British administraators. That acrimovious feeling eventually developed he does not deny, but he attributes it entirely to the changed policy" of the Government. With this view we cannot agree, that it would be regrettable if the publisists who on accasion permitted themselves to use violent and unworthy language in criticising the policy of Lord Curzon were absolved and assued that their extranagances were quite justifiable in view of the acts of the Government. No doubt, some times inevitablly

and sometimes by failure in tact, Lord Curzon irritated the congress leaders and that section of the people which they represent. But it has also to be remembered that there were lawless elements within the congress, and that the cumulative effect of years of criticism had produced a good deal of unjustifiable bitterness of mind among its members. All that, however, is happily in the past, and Sir William Wedderburn expresses himself is anxious that bygonesxxx should be bygones.

Conciliation on the part of the Government, he says, has already produced some effect, but, according to him it has not been carried far mought to bear full fruit. He, therefore, xxxx makes a twoffled appear to the official class first, to accept and work the policy of the Reforms in an ungrudging spirit and to extend it in the field of local self-government and secondly to faciliate a return of the country to a normal condition by an early repeal of repressive measures or in any case, by dispensing, as far as possible, with the exercise of the extraordinary powers which they have conferred on the Executive". The first part of his appeal is scarcely necessary. Any one who has studied the communications from officials gathered together in the enquiry preliminary to the final scheme of reform must have been impressed by the sympathatic interest displayed by the vast majority of the officials whose views were invited. Since the introduction of the Reforms there has been no symptoms of hankering after the conditions of an early period, though here and there some little difficulty may have been experienced in adjusting matters to the new conditions. Sir William Wedderburn's appeal is addressed, therefore, to an audience already converted. As for the repeal of repressive

legislation, his point of view is intelligible, but for our part we have never been able to applaud a policy of continual enactment and repeal. As we urged so often during the discussion of the seditious Meetings Bill, while it is desirable to be cautious and discriminating in applying the measure to any area, it is the very reverse of desirable to deprive the government of an instrument which might easily have to be forged anew, with all the delay and controversy which that would necessitate. William Wedderburn and his congress friends consider that the repeal of that and other measures aimed at sedition would facilitate the return of the country to a normal condition". It seems to us that such a course would probably bring about a recrudescence of seditious activity, for the survival of seditious forces at present undercheck, cannot be denied. Moderation such as he recommends is using extrorodinary powers is, of course, a very different matter, and there, as we have already said, we are at one with him.

Turning next to conciliation as between Hindus and Mohomedans, Sir William Wedderburn made an interesting reference to the forth coming conference may be great improvement in Hindu Muslim relations must be the earnest wish of every friend of India. But moderate persons may take alarm when they find him quoting for the benefit of Mohomedans the advice of so injudicious a friend and so unbalanced a politician as Mr.Wilfred Blunt, The part that Mr.Blunt tried to play in India was that of being more Moslem than the Hindus. He tells them now to join the congress. Let them remember that Sir Syed Ahmad Kept them aloof from it, and let them recall here little Mr.Blunt their professed friend, appreciated justly venerated statesman.

It is a mistaken idea that co-operation between the communities necessarily involves the absorption of Moslems in the congress. The matter, however, isone for the consideration of the Mohamedans themselves. As for conciliation with the congress, Sir William Wedderburn seems to us too tolerant of the extremists who were expelled after the Smat split. If they see the error of their ways and loyally accept the congress constitution, there is, of course, no reason to deny then readmission. But their return, imperitent, to the Congress would merely lower the status of that body. Like a good many others of his school, Sir William Wedderburn is apt to overrule unity. Where there is no real concord, it is folly to set up a petence of it.

The last words of Sir William Wedderburn addressed to the congress were a recommendations to carry on an educative campaign in England. From his own point of view that may be thought wise advice. As compared with representations to the government of India and the Secretary of state it doubt less presents advantages; though, if we may be pardoned the blippancy, oppealing to the mind of the average British elector is scarcely following the line of least resistance, as Sir William declares it to be. From a wider point of view such a campaign could only be regarded with some anxiety. Of onething the supporters of the congress may be assured which finds its easiest path of advance through appeals to ignorance and irresponsibility rather than to knowledge and responsibility. ~~The exploitation of the ignorance and sentiment of British electors~~

The exploitation of the ignorance and sentiment of British democracy is not the ~~xxx~~ noblest or even in the end the most expedient way of promoting progress in this country.

Hindus and Mohomedans. 29 - 12 - 1910.

At the first step taken towards the reconciliation of Hindus and Mohomedans, in view of the approaching conference on the subject, Sir William Wedderburn has come upon a serious obstacle. When on Sunday evening he laid before an informal gathering of congress members the memorandum prepared by Mr.Amir Ali, strong objection to one item in it immediately manifested itself. While the Hindu leaders all expressed willingness to meet the Mohomedans of the forthcoming conference more than half way, they declared that they could not consider Mr. Amir Ali's proposal that they should join with the Mohomedans in asking for racial and sectional representation on Municipal and Local Boards. The memorandum is in theory no more than a statement of the personal views of a distinguished Mohomedan leader, but practically it may be regarded as expressing the opinions generally held by the community. On the particular point to which exception was taken, communal representation on Municipal and Local Boards, Mohomedans may be found willing to give way, but to the principle involved in such representation they are, with very few exceptions, firmly attached. The congress has passed Resolutions protesting against communal electorates for the Legislative councils and deprecating communal representation on Local Bodies. To the opinions there in expressed the great majority of Hindu politicians hold strongly we have here, therefore, differences which appear, and probably are, incapable of being composed we do not say that such differences will

necessarily make coo eration on other matters impossible, but it is certain that so long as they exist really cordial association in point efforts for the good of the country will be exceedingly difficult on the one side, there will be malousy of a minority alleged to be unduly favoured, on the other, suspicion that what is deemed an indispensable guarantee of communal interests is about to be destroyed.

If the leaders of both the communities earnestly desire to bring about a genuine reconciliation as we believe they do, it is to this question of representation that they must principally devote their attention. Assucations of unworthy motives are neither justifiable nor likely to serve any object but the widening of existing differences. It is satisfactory, therefore, to find that when a congress delegate with a Mohomedan name aspersed the honesty of the Muslims League during the discussion of the Resolution on the council Regulations, he was promptly called to order by the President, and that Mr.Surrendranath Bannerjee, tactfully interpasing, secured from the mass of the delegates a reprediation of such doubts. On the other hand, Mohomedans should realise, as most of them probably do, that much of the opposition to communal representation is inspired not by jealousy, but by a genuine fear that it imperils the ideal of "National unity" which the congress has set up. In discussing matters in dispute between the two great Indian community it behoves those who represent independent opinion to be cautious, lest they inadvertently contribute to the intensification of differences they would like to see minimum. We may however, repeat what we said when the question of Mohomedan representation was under consideration in connection with the Reforms, that real

unity can be secured only when there is no fear of minorities being swenged, for such fear at once drives them into isolation; and that united appeals or protests to government are far more likely to carry weight when they are not open to suspicion of emanating from bodies not really representative of the communities on whose behalf they profess to speak.

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